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ABSTRACT

A study was undertaken to examine the sources of international news in the Pacific Island press in the light of J. Galtung's structural theory of imperialism and to explore the relationship between the remoteness and isolation of the Pacific press and its sources of news. The Galtungian concepts of center-periphery and dominance-dependency were related to sources and conditions of remoteness. A content analysis of 32 newspapers was conducted--20 from the Pacific Islands and 12 from the Pacific Rim countries of North America and Asia. Eleven coding categories were used and the space of each item was measured, a headline/summary was recorded, and advertising and "newshole" were measured. In all, 4,710 international news items were coded from 162 issues of the newspapers. The resulting data were consistent with the Galtungian construct that the flow of news will be from the center to the periphery and that the center countries, particularly those with historical colonial ties, will predominate as sources in the periphery press. An additional finding was the general lack of "cross bloc" use of sources--the "British/Australian Pacific" used British sources, the "American Pacific" used United States sources, and the French areas depended on French sources. (FL)

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NEWS FROM NOWHERE: SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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News From Nowhere: Sources of International News In the Pacific Islands Press

Two aspects of the flow of international news are examined in this paper. First, the sources of news are viewed in a Galtungian framework of center-periphery and dominance-dependency, and, second, the effect of remoteness and isolation on news sources and alternative means of obtaining news are examined. A related aspect examines the difficulties of using source as a category in international flow studies. The data used in the paper are from a two-year study. Several other aspects of the study have been reported separately.[1]

Sources of news in international communication are important indicators for flow examination in the Galtungian framework, and provide a useful analytic tool for many of the criticisms of flow raised by Third World countries and others over the past several years.

Remoteness and isolation from the main communication centers are characteristic of many developing countries, and the Pacific Islands in particular present these characteristics. The farther a newspaper is from the main communication centers, the less is the degree of specificity of sources. Persons and communities at the more remote edges of the world communication system know less and less about the news process that informs them, and about the social and political context of the news. People in remote areas may know the headlines but are not likely to know the significant details of the social process behind them.[2]

The source of news is a traditional content analysis category in flow of news studies, and reveals the extent of reliance on particular sources, with a focus on the major transnational news agencies. Such an examination

shows the structure and process of world news flow systems. Data for this paper come from a study of the press in the Pacific Basin, and thus provide an analysis of an entire region, something most studies do not provide.

The Pacific Islands* press faces all the familiar difficulties of the press in developing countries, as outlined by Sommerlad and others.[3] In addition, the isolation and remoteness in the Pacific are unmatched, and unique forms of news flow in the Islands have developed.

The Study

The Flow of News study of the Pacific Basin press was undertaken to provide data on basic questions concerning the international flow of news. The overall study was intended to provide through content analysis and other methods data for the international discussions concerning international communication policy and flow of news, and particularly to address the criticisms of news flow in Third World countries and elsewhere.

The study measured and mapped the flow of news within the Pacific Islands, between the Islands and the Pacific Rim countries and the rest of the world, and between the developed and developing Rim countries. The study focused on the size and nature of the flow, the supplier or source of international news articles, the subject matter and news structure, and the focus by country of where the news occurred, where it was reported from, and which countries were reported.

Thirty-two newspapers are included in the content analysis--20 from the Pacific Islands and 12 from the Rim countries of North America and Asia.** The geographical area covers the mandated area of the East-West

*Included here are the islands of Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia. New Zealand and Australia are considered Pacific Rim countries.

**See Appendix A for countries and newspapers in sample.

Center. The study period was November 1-7, 1976, which intentionally included the U.S. presidential election. Eleven coding categories were used, and the space of each item was measured, a headline/summary was recorded, and advertising and "newshole" were measured. In all, 4710 international news items were coded from 162 issues of 32 newspapers. Several aspects of the study have been reported, as noted.

For study purposes, "The source is defined as the supplier of the article to the newspaper. It is not the person who related the information to the reporter or news agency." The coding categories provided for "Own Newspaper Correspondent (local or foreign)," the various news agencies and combinations of agencies, and other sources, to be specified by name. If the coder could not determine what the source/supplier was, he was instructed to code it as "Unstated."

"International news" is defined in the study as any item of more than passing reference to events or persons in other countries, to international or regional organizations, or to foreign actors within the country of publication.[4]

Sources of News

Sources of news are indicators of two aspects of flow. One aspect, tied closely to the purpose of the overall study, was to determine the sources of news for the Pacific Islands press. The theoretical interest for this is found by using a Galtungian framework for examination of the data. A second aspect relates to the practical interest in the effect of remoteness on communication--in the Pacific Islands case, it means examining to what extent the sources of news are identified to the readers of the press. Of related interest are the means by which Pacific Island editors obtain news. Alternative sources for Island editors, discussed below,

relate to the concepts of horizontal and vertical news flows, and other questions raised in the Galtungian framework.

Although several aspects of Galtung's work relate to the structural aspects of global communication patterns, his analytical constructs of "center-periphery" and "dominance-dependency" are particularly relevant to our study. These have been detailed elsewhere.[5]

One construct deals with the control of the major instruments of communication production, such as news agencies and media and trained personnel and understanding of press system operations. Galtung also says center dominance is maintained in communication through "feudal networks of communication" based on systems established during colonial periods. Both of these constructs can be examined with source data.

One reason for the predominance of center news in the world system, for example, can be explained by looking at the suppliers of that news--predominately owned and home-based in center countries. And the "feudal networks" can be traced through examination of sources and ties with former colonial countries. Galtung would also expect the center-periphery news exchange ratios to be negative contra the periphery, and there would be few horizontal periphery-periphery sources in the news flow, and even less source use between different colonial-structured blocs of periphery nations. These expectations from Galtung's constructs are examined here through source data. Such examination using location of news events data were generally consistent with Galtung's constructs at the level of presentation.[6]

Galtung also notes that periphery nations can change the patterns by creating horizontal patterns and thus break down the feudal networks. One clear example presented below is the use of satellite news exchange to break the colonial bloc patterns by servicing horizontally across blocs. Other emerging patterns are also noted.

"News from Nowhere." The concept of "news from nowhere" in this study was developed when the data showed that 29.4 percent of all the international news in the Island press did not have an identifiable or stated source in the article. That is, almost one in three articles on international news did not tell the reader who supplied the news--it was just there in the newspaper with no indication of source. Obviously, there is a varying degree of awareness of the likely sources of news that is not attributed to a supplier, among editors, readers and observers.[7]

Although "own correspondent" is listed below as an identified source, it presents coding difficulties similar to "unstated." Many of the unstated and own correspondent articles may, in fact, have been supplied by transnational agencies, been a combination of items from various sources, may have been taken without credit from radio services or other publications, and so on. Even where a transnational news agency is identified as the source, it is not always clear where the transnational secured the item. The study data turned up a variety of hyphenated sources, such as AFP-Reuters, or UPI-Kyodo. The Australian Associated Press shows up as a source in Papua New Guinea and Fiji, but it receives most of its international news from Reuters, Associated Press and United Press International.

Coder reliability can be at 90 percent in the source category but there are still many concerns and the need to go deeper into the unstated and own correspondent items as well as the combined dispatches.

Identified Sources. The greatest number of identified sources of foreign news in the Pacific Island press--both weeklies and dailies--was "own correspondent." That label means in most cases a locally written story by the newspaper reporter concerning a visitor, conference involving other countries, or statements by the government about other countries. It

could also be a story from several external sources written by a local reporter and considered "her story." Under the study's definition of international news, these qualify an international news.[8] These comprised about one-quarter of the international news items. There was a sharp difference, however, between the daily and more remote weekly press. In the daily press, as noted in Table 1, "own correspondent" was 16.5 percent, while in the non-daily press, it was 56.4 percent.

The next largest identified supplier of international news is the Associated Press, followed closely by the United Press International. These two transnational suppiers of news were the only ones of any significance overall in the Pacific Islands, although Reuters, through links with the Australian Associated Press (AAP), was an important supplier in two Pacific Island countries--Papua New Guinea and Fiji.[9] And, as described below, Fiji is a central news center or interchange in the Pacific, especially for the smaller newspapers in the British bloc, through a "newspaper ring," As the source for most news in the "American Pacific" came from AP and UPI, the source for most news in the "British Pacific" came through Reuters and its partnership with AAP and the New Zealand Press Association.[10] As a practical matter, however, it is difficult without on-spot observation to tell how much of the AAP report to Papua New Guinea and Fiji is from Reuters or other transnationals (this is another dimension of "news from nowhere" but is not examined here). In the "French Pacific," the predominant sources of international news from the outside were AFP and French publications and broadcasting services. The French sources did not show up in the content analysis but were identified from other sources and interviews conducted by a study project member. This clear bloc pattern can be seen from Table 1 and through study interview data with Pacific editors and news directors.

Table 1. Major Sources of International News Pacific Islands*

Source	N=1278 Daily	N=326 Non-Daily	N=1604 Combined
Own correspondent (local or special)	16.5(211)	56.4(184)	24.6(395)
Associated Press (AP)	17.4(223)	0.3(1)	14.0(224)
United Press International (UPI)	16.6(212)	2.5(8)	13.7(220)
Australian Associated Press (AAP)	8.8(113)	-	7.0(113)
AAP-Reuters	3.9(50)	-	3.1(50)
Micronesian News Service (MNS)	0.3(4)	5.2(17)	1.3(21)
Gannett News Service	1.4(18)	-	1.1(18)
Glen Wright Clipping Service	-	4.9(16)	1.0(16)
No Source Given	29.3(375)	29.4(96)	29.4(471)

(Percentages given first, frequencies in parenthesis)

Excluding the Honolulu newspapers from the Daily listing of sources for international news increases own correspondent to 18.2%, AAP to 11.4% and AAP-Reuters to 5.1%, and drops AP to 16.3% and UPI to 11.1%. No source given increases to 33.3%.

Each newspaper in the sample was independently coded by two trained coders. Reliability was at 90 percent for the sample newspapers on the source data. To further improve the level of reliability, a third coder reconciled the two independent sets of coding.

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*Other sources for international news for the Pacific Islands press combined for the study period, all with less than 1% of the items, are: Reuters, Agence France Presse (AFP), Times Wire Service, Les Nouvelles Caledoninnes, Indian Correspondent Service, Gemini News Service, France Soir, Le Point, L'Express, Washington Post, New York Times News Service, Newhouse News Service, Toronto Globe and Press, Daily Yomuri, Rolling Stone, Star-Bulletin, Boston Globe, Daily Express (London), Christian Science Monitor, National Geographic, Copley News Service, Fiji Times, Paris Match.

While AP and UPI dominated the sources, the items supplied were primarily published in three newspapers--the two Honolulu dailies and the Guam daily. UPI was the exclusive supplier of the Daily Bulletin in American Samoa, as well. By excluding the two Honolulu metropolitan dailies, the total percentage for AP and UPI in the daily Pacific press drops from 27.7 to 22 percent. Of the reduced total, the Pacific Daily News (Guam) accounted for most of the AP and more than half of the UPI stories. So, as noted, while transnational news agencies supply a good deal of the international news to the Pacific press, the use of it is highly concentrated in five newspapers--the PNG Post-Courier, the Fiji Times, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, the Honolulu Advertiser, and the Pacific Daily News. AFP, while it supplies the "French Pacific," through telex service,[11] does not show up on the sources, apparently because they either were not credited or used during the sample period in the Tahiti Depéche. Table 2 shows the sources by major news agencies for the daily press. In the non-daily press, only the Micronesian Independent and the Samoa News credit any of the transnational agencies as sources, and then with only a few articles.

Table 2. Major News Agency Sources Pacific Island Daily Press

	AP	UPI	AAP	AAP-Reuters
Cook Islands News	-	1.5(1)	-	-
La Depeche	0.7(1)	-	-	-
Fiji Times	-	-	20.3(36)	28.2(50)
La France Australe	-	-	-	-
Honolulu Advertiser*	-	67.4(87)	-	-
Honolulu Star-Bulletin*	39.4(63)	9.4(15)	-	-
Pacific Daily News*	53.2(159)	22.7(68)		-
PNG Post Courier	-	-	68.8(77)	-
News Bulletin	-	53.9(41)	-	-

(Percentages given first, frequencies in parenthesis)

The division between American and Australian-British sources is clear. What may be a break in this pattern is the effort by UPI to establish service to Fiji. Qualitative data from French Polynesia indicates that the source division by blocs holds for the "French Pacific" as well.

*Note that articles about the United States are considered international news in the Guam Pacific Daily News. In the Honolulu papers, they are not.

Island and Rim Newspaper Sources

Differences in sources of news can help differentiate press systems, and a comparison of the sources for the Rim country newspapers in the study and the Pacific Island newspapers show both similarities and differences. In the case of the Pacific Island daily and weekly press, some differences within a regional press system are larger than those between regional systems.

The data on sources from the flow of news study are presented in Table 3. Comparisons of sources will be made between the industrialized or developed countries and the developing countries of the Rim, between the Rim countries and the Pacific countries, and between the Pacific daily and weekly press.

Rim Sources. In all, there are 64 sources of news, in addition to the newspapers "own correspondent," in the Rim countries press. Own correspondent is the leading source of international news in the Rim countries, with 34.2 percent. As with the Island press, many of these stories are locally originated, although several of the larger Rim country papers in the study have their own systems of foreign correspondents. The next highest category of source was "unstated," at 15.8 percent. The first transnational news supplier was the Associated Press at 14 percent, followed by Reuters, 7.9 percent; Agence France Presse, 6.3 and United Press International, 5.5 percent. The four largest transnational agencies accounted for one-third of the sources.

Combining the own correspondent, Big Four Agencies, and unstated sources, the total for the Rim countries is 83.7 percent, with much of the rest coming from national news agencies.

Table 3. Major Sources of International News* - Rim Countries

Source	N-1073 Deveoloping	N-2033 Developed	N-3106 Combined
Own Correspondent	29.8(320)	36.4(741)	34.2(1061)
Associated Press	11.2(120)	15.5(315)	14.0(335)
Reuters	6.2(63)	8.7(177)	7.9(240)
Agence France Presse (combined with NZPA-AFP)	7.2(77)	5.9(120)	6.3(197)
United Press International	5.0(53)	5.8(117)	5.5(170)
New China News Agency	14.1(151)	-	4.9(151)
New Zealand Press Association	-	2.6(52)	1.7(52)
Canadian Press	-	1.7(35)	1.1(35)
No Source Given	14.5(156)	16.5(335)	15.8(491)

(Percentages are presented first, with frequencies in parenthesis.)

*Other sources for international news for the Rim countries press combined, all with less than 1% of the items, are: Kyodo, Times Wire Service, Washington Post, New Yorl Times Service, Australian Times, Newsweek, Financial Times, Daily Yomuri, Chicago Daily News, Guardian (Manchester), London Times, Tanjug, Samachar, Pakistan News Agency, Central News Agency, Pan Asian News Agency, International Herald Tribune, TASS, DPA-JIJI, Le Monde, Toanipposhi (Korean newspaper), Australian, Bangkok Post, Sun News Dispatch, Fieffer (Field News Syndicate), Winnipeg Free Press, London Observer, World Cable Service, Deutsche Bank, Barclays Bank Trust, Societe Generale de Bangul (London), Daily Telegraph, Globe & Mail, Naeway (Korean news agency), New York Times, Hapdong, Orient Press, Tong Yang.

In a breakdown between the developed and developing countries* in the Rim countries, the developing countries used 33 sources for international news, in addition to own correspondent, with the developed countries using 40 sources. However, most of the sources in both developing and developed Rim country newspapers contributed very little to the overall totals. In the developing countries, 23 of the 33 sources contributed 0.5 percent of the articles (frequency 1-5). About 83 percent of the articles used resulted from four sources, own correspondent, and unstated. In the developed press, the figure is 88.8, and all the four outside sources were transnational news agencies (the Big Four).

Own correspondent, unstated, and then the Big Four agencies came in order as sources for the developed countries. In the developing countries, own correspondent, unstated and New China News Agency[12] were followed by the Big Four. The Associated Press substantially headed the list of transnational suppliers of news in both the developed and developing countries in the sample.

By larger groupings, the Rim country sources are, roughly, as follows: Big Four news agencies, 34 percent; Own Correspondent, 34 percent; Smaller News Agencies and Services, 14 percent; Unstated, 16 percent.

In the Pacific newspapers, the larger groupings are the Big Four news agencies, 30.7 percent; Unstated, 29.4 percent; Own Correspondent, 24.6 percent; Smaller News Agencies and Services, 10.4 percent.

Further comparisons between elements of the Rim and Pacific newspapers can be seen in Table 4. The Rim newspapers show much more consistency in sources than the Island press, which includes weekly newspapers.** The

*See Appendix B for classification of developed and developing countries.

**The inclusion of the weekly press in the Pacific sample was necessary because many of the countries in the Pacific do not have a daily press. Western Samoa, for example, an independent country of about 160,000 people, is served only by weekly or less frequent publications.

Table 4. Rim and Pacific Source Comparisons

	RIM		ISLAND	
	Developed	Developing	Daily	Weekly
Own Correspondence	36.4	29.9	16.5	56.4
Unstated	16.5	14.5	29.3	29.4
AP	15.5	11.2	17.4	0.3
UPI	5.0	5.8	16.6	2.5
Reuters	8.7	6.2	3.9*	-
AFP	5.9	7.2	-	-
C O M B I N A T I O N S				
Own Correspondence/ Unstated	52.9	44.4	45.8	85.8
Big Four	35.1	30.4	37.4	2.8

*(AAP-Reuters)

greatest variance in the Island press is on Own Correspondent, with the daily press at 16.5 and the weekly press at 56.4. Given the difficulties small, less economically strong newspapers have in getting outside news, the local generation of international news seems to be a natural development. Yet, in Unstated, the results are virtually identical. There are wide differences in the Island press also in service by transnational news agencies.

In the Rim country newspapers, there is much less variance, with high agreement in the sources for all categories.

The comparison between the developing Rim country daily press and the Pacific Island daily press (all Pacific Islands are in developing country status), shows differences between Own Correspondent and Unstated, as well as other sources. Working from only the flow data, it is not possible to clearly ascribe reasons for these differences. One explanation would be that the press in the developing Rim countries are more developed than the Island press and hence have more foreign correspondents.

Implications of Remoteness and Sources

Remote places, within reach of radio at least, know or can learn about the major event occurring in the world, yet can have little understanding of those events.

There are few validity checks in remote societies to screen incoming news and information. The traditional society (always remote in a global communication sense), if open to outside flow, has little control over the effect of what comes in.[13] The lack of validity checks doesn't apply evenly across remote or traditional societies, since the elite, expatriates and government segments may have built effective, diversified validity checks, at least in the areas of primary concern.

Remoteness often stimulates imaginative means to obtain news for the Pacific Islands press. As a corollary, often the source or supplier is lost--the news is from nowhere, as far as the reader is concerned. The editors, know, or think they know, where the news came from. In any case, the validity check of the source is lost for the reader.

The inability of the reader to check on the news she is presented is not limited to remote areas, of course, but is of great interest and importance in highly developed press systems. The relationship of the reporter to his news source, and his often-times insistence on shielding the identity of the source, gives a wide range of theoretical speculation on the relaship of identification of source and news flow. Control of information and information about the source is a power exercised by journalists and others, and the withholding or non-providing of source information, for whatever reason, can add to the journalists' power over the information.

Validity checks work two ways. Readers with highly developed press systems learn little through the news media about remote countries, and hence,

when items about those countries do appear, there are few validity checks.

Knowing the source of news also helps to distinguish between horizontal and vertical flow systems. News in the Fiji press about Papua New Guinea, for example, could be horizontal (direct between Fiji and PNG) or vertical (from PNG to Australia to Fiji). Or the case may be more complicated, with a news item from Tonga moving to Fiji then to Australia, to London, to New York, to San Francisco and finally to the American Pacific press. The implications of vertical and horizontal patterns of communication are great in the context of the Galtungian center-periphery and dominance-dependency contexts, as well as the concerns widely expressed by Third World countries over the type of news service they get. The vertical system builds in centralized control of the flow in center countries, for example, while the horizontal system disperses control widely.

The present global patterns are, of course, vertical through the Big Four news agencies and their television counterparts. This patterns shows up clearly in source data from the Pacific, and through interviews conducted in the flow of news study. The emergence of a regional news exchange utilizing the ATS-1 satellite, however, has altered this pattern to an extent, and a newspaper ring devised by the Island press is on horizontal lines.

Some of the implications of remoteness and sources of news in the Galtungian context can be seen in the example of Fiji. A question to start with is, is Fiji getting what it wants/needs from the present flow of news patterns, and particularly from its suppliers of news. Or, since the news comes through its intermediate center country almost exclusively, is it getting what the news system in Australia feels the Fiji press wants/needs, or,even further, what the Australian news system wants/needs Fiji to have? And, if through the Australian system, how well is Fiji being served?

This is a fundamental question, and much more than source data is needed to explore it across different flow patterns. The Fiji news system is a highly distinctive example in news flow. While Fiji serves as a hub or center for news among the smaller Pacific Islands, it is at the end of the world communication line, dependent in large measure on Australia and Britain for its news and information. To further lock in this dependency, one of the two dailies in Suva is owned by an Australian conglomerate, which has important newspaper interests in Australia, owns PIM magazine, and owns the PNG Post-Courier. A similar dependency in broadcast news is seen through reliance on Radio Australia and the BBC. (The second daily in Fiji, the Fiji Sun, is owned by New Zealand, American and Hong Kong interests). Into this already heavy web, the source of newspaper news to Fiji goes through the Australian Associated Press, which is partners in Reuters. And, as shown below, Fiji is a center for smaller Pacific newspapers, so this lock on the news sources is felt well beyond Fiji, in the flow both in and out of the Pacific. Until recently, the Fiji international telecommunication link was owned by a transnational, Cable & Wireless, Ltd., which still exerts influence after the Fiji government bought the Fiji system. There is also a well-done, informative newsletter from the Australia Embassy in Suva that presents a great deal of information for the Island press on Australian-Island activities.

The same pattern can be seen for the broadcast media in the Pacific. The French Pacific, for example, is served through television from France, and the television systems in American Samoa, Guam, Saipan and the cable television systems in the Trust Territory districts are linked tightly to U.S. television sources. The overseas broadcasts of the Radio New Zealand, Voice of America and the BBC are regularly carried over

domestic services, generally on bloc lines.[14]

This entire pattern is generally consistent with Galtung's constructs concerning feudal networks and dominance-dependency and center-periphery flows of communication. The lack of horizontal flow among the Island countries, widely recognized by Pacific leaders, and even less between the Pacific blocs, is also consistent with Galtung.

Alternative News Sources in the Pacific

There has been a long search by Pacific Island editors for news of the outside world. With the advent of radio, this task was made immensely easier, but difficulties in getting the kinds and quality of news desired through practical, timely and economical means are still immense. As noted above, the Pacific Islands are at the end of the line on the global news flow system, and much of that is channeled through traditional colonial lines by transnational agencies home-based in center nations. Several alternative sources have developed in the Islands in efforts to meet the needs for regional news and a wider range of news about the outside world. The most innovative alternative systems have been the five-year regional news exchange utilizing the ATS-1 weather satellite, and a "newspaper ring." Clipping services, audio tape exchanges, and even the television spillover from American Samoa to Western Samoa provides other unusual methods of diversifying sources of news and communication in small, remote places. In addition to these methods, external broadcasts from several Rim countries, active government information services, international and regional organizations, travelers and similar traditional forms of news flow are important.

Satellite News Exchanges. Since 1974, a regional news exchange has been conducted over the Peacesat system[15] in the Pacific, utilizing the

ATS-1 satellite. The demonstration was started by the South Pacific Commission, premised on the idea that more regional news was needed in the Pacific, and later sponsored the Pacific Islands News Association.[16]

The news exchange itself is relatively simple: Each week participating terminals in the Peacesat network present brief news bulletins which the preparer feels will be of interest to other Pacific Island countries, and when she is finished, the next person in order gives his bulletin.

ATS-1 and the Peacesat system are appropriate technology for the Pacific Islands, and offer low-cost, two-way, interactive communication among the widely scattered Pacific Islands, with a local hand on the control switch, and each terminal locally funded. The source data demonstrate that the regional news exchange was the only effective means used for "across bloc" flows in the British, American and French areas. This was shown in the Cook Islands News, which weekly published all of the stories about the other islands carried over Peacesat, and it was the only newspaper in the Pacific sample to provide thusly diversified sources from French, American and British areas.[17]

One significant reason other newspapers, such as the Fiji Times, did not utilize the sources available over the news exchange was opposition by local post and telegraph authorities, and through the international telecommunications carrier, Cable & Wireless. Other reasons were on a more practical level--the difficulty of transcribing the exchanges, the lack of broadcast quality, the time it takes with limited news personnel, competition with local news, and, sometimes, a general lack of interest in the types of stories sent over the exchange. Occasional use of exchange bulletins was made by broadcasting services in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and, outside the Islands, New Zealand.

Efforts to upgrade and widen participation in the exchange were underway in early 1979.[18]

The future of the news exchange and Peacesat system itself is in question because of the uncertainty over the life of ATS-1 and unlikely prospects of a successor or new form of appropriate satellite communication in the Pacific. The debate over small terminals in satellite communication is important in this context, and is being discussed in the context of the World Administrative Radio Conference in September 1979.[19]

The Peacesat news exchange system in any case demonstrates the potential of diversifying sources and opening up periphery-to-periphery sources, and across colonial bloc sources, and has practical as well as theoretical importance.

Even the marvels of satellite communication cannot overcome the on-ground situation of the press in a developing country--and this is especially true on a tiny, isolated Pacific Island. Niue, for example, found it a great strain on its limited news staff resources to prepare for the Peacesat news exchange,[20] and even Papua New Guinea, with a well-developed radio service, found the preparation needed to participate to be a strain on its staff.[21]

Another variation of the news exchange was the Press Conference of the Pacific. On two occasions, news figures were participating at one terminal, and journalists at other terminals would ask them questions, news conference style. While this format worked reasonably well, there was no institutional framework in which to sustain the conferences.

In addition, numerous public affairs type of exchanges are carried on in social, cultural, educational, health and other contexts over the satellite system offering a wide diversity of sources on developmental news,

not usually open to Island editors. Few editors or broadcasters use or even seem aware of this source of development news from 16 different Island terminals.

On several occasions, Island journalists have discussed professional concerns over the satellite system.

Newspaper Ring. For many of the smaller papers, getting regional news presents major problems. One imaginative way to overcome this, within a Pacific way time frame, is called a newspaper ring by Allen. The procedure is simple and informal. Newspapers are exchanged through a group of newspapers and items of interest are republished. The other newspapers become the sources. Allen describes it thusly:

> Because of the lack of any faster method news exchange, regionally, many of the islands participate in a semi-formal newspaper exchange "ring." That is, island newspaper people send copies of their papers through the mail (by boat) to other islands. Not all island papers participate and those that do send their papers to only some of the other islands--nonetheless, this "ring" is still the major method of regional printed news exchange among islands.

Allen compares the newspaper exchange to the trading ring in the Trobriand Islands, described by Malinowski.

The Fiji Times, for years the premier newspaper in the South Pacific, is the main relay paper in the ring because of its telex link to AAP and Australia and hence the "outside" world. Members of the ring include the Fiji Times, Tonga Chronicle, Samoa Times, Cook Islands News, and sometimes the Samoa News and others. The ring is basically within the "British Pacific."

The satellite news exchange and the newspaper ring are the most unusual and imaginative of the sources for international and regional news in the Pacific, and there are several other means by which news filters into the island press. One of the difficulties in the flow study was to

identify the sources, and estimate their input into the total content of the Pacific Islands press.

Overseas Broadcasting Services. Probably the most underreported source of international news to the Pacific Islands press is the overseas radio service, primarily from Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and the United States, but also including other countries. Even a casual examination of the radio logs published in the Island press shows the importance of Radio Australia, Radio New Zealand, BBC, and the Voice of America. One important development, while not breaking the center-periphery pattern entirely, is the service by Radio New Zealand. The service takes feeds of bulletins from the various island countries, and then broadcasts the news back to the Pacific Islands, in various local languages, including, Maori, Samoan, Cook Island Maori, Tokelauan, Tongan, and Niuean. While this still keeps the gatekeeper in an intermediate center country, there is important periphery input into the communication process.

Government Information Services. In parallel with the overseas broadcasting services, the various government information services and international and regional organizations send materials to the Island press in the form of newsletters, news releases, and so forth. From personal observation, much of this kind of material is used in the Island press.

Radio Tape Exchanges. A weekly program called "Pacific Voices" was developed over a period of years by the South Pacific Commission's Radio Bureau in Suva, and provided through the mail copies of programs from different Islands. Not all of the tapes were focused on news, however, and Suva often ended up having to provide the tape to the other islands. While not a major source of information about other islands, the tape exchange demonstrates another mode of intra-Pacific exchange.

International Publications. There is ample evidence of the pervasiveness of such international publications as Time, Newsweek and, in the Pacific context, PIM (Pacific Islands Monthly). There are other specialized publications, such as the Pacific Islands Communication Newsletter, that provide some international and regional news. Newspapers from Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii are found occasionally in the South Pacific and Micronesia but are not a general source of news.

Clipping Services. There has been a history of clipping services in the Pacific Islands but few of them seem to have made any lasting impact. Two of the recent ones include the Glen Wright Clipping Service (which turned up as a source in our study), and the venture by the Pacific Islands News Association, which lasted for one prototype round of clippings. Clipping services may be an appropriate technology for the Pacific Islands but so far no sustainable system has developed.

The Pacific Islands press demonstrates a wide variety of unusual and ordinary means to overcome limited sources of international news from the world communication systems, and offers practical and theoretical implications for study of the flow of news.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper examines the sources of international news in the Pacific Island press in a Galtungian framework, and explores the relationship between the remoteness and isolation of the Pacific press and its sources of news. The data on sources came from a flow of news study focused on the week of November 1-7, 1976. Galtungian concepts of center-periphery and dominance-dependence are related to sources and conditions of remoteness. Alternative news sources are described, including a satellite regional news exchange and a "newspaper ring." The concept of "news from nowhere" is developed from the high percentage of articles that were not attributed in the Island press. Comparisons were made between the Island press and selected Pacific Rim country newspapers. The source data are consistent with the Galtungian construct that the flow will be essentially from the center to the periphery--there were no sources of news from the Island periphery in the center countries (hardly any news at all)--and that the center countries, particularly those with historical colonial connections, will predominate as sources in the periphery press. A further source finding was the general lack of "cross bloc" use of sources--the "British Pacific" used British-Australian sources, the "American Pacific" used American sources, and the French areas depended on France for their sources of international news. The satellite was noted as breaking this bloc confinement, and providing a means of cutting across the "feudal networks," in Galtung's term.

The content analysis category of source of news is a standard one, and, while high reliability can be attained with it, much finer analysis and tracking of news stories and their sources seem to be needed. A story supplied to Fiji through the Australian Associated Press, as noted

above, could come from a variety of other sources, including Reuters, the Associated Press and the United Press International. And in the "Unstated" category, the news literally could come from almost anywhere. A much clearer idea of the world communication flow will be possible with further work on the source of news.

Source data is also viewed as an indicator of remoteness. In one sense, the fewer the sources, the more remote the press system; in another sense, the shared patterns of sources can indicate a closeness, or lack of remoteness, between and among various press systems. That is, since Fiji and Papua New Guinea newspapers are supplied by the same sources, they can be viewed as not being remote from each other--after all, they are exposed to the same world news agenda, and thus have a certain shared view of the world. Yet they know little about each other, since there is little exchange of news about their countries. The agencies supplying the press systems do not provide that kind of material to any extent.

An emerging problem with content analysis using a source category, aside from those above, is that so many national news agencies have grown in recent years, with a great variety of arrangements with the transnational news agencies, and it is not always clear where a transnational agency or a national news agency receives the story they send on, even though they are labeled as the "source" in the newspapers. As Rosenblum notes, transnational news agencies and national news agencies form a "layered global network almost too complex to plot accurately."[23]

While this uncertainty over sources creates a certain lack of precision in flow of news research, it is indicative of an opening up, a diversity of opportunities to gain a broader view of events. The area of focus in this

paper--the Pacific Islands press--accentuates many of the problems of news flow and sources of news, and makes the underlying pattern clearer. While there has been a communication technological revolution, many of the pre-existing communication patterns and structures prevail in news flow. The satellite is here, but so still are the Post and Telegraph constraints on its use, as the Pacific Islands case demonstrates. The case of the Pacific Islands raises the questions of what are the rights of and the rights to communication for people in remote and isolated areas, on the uneconomical fringe of the world communication systems. They have few "events" or "news" of value to the developed world, and they present few news marketing opportunities for the transnational news agencies. Flow research points out the obvious problems for such places, and some possible helpful steps, such as small terminal satellite systems, but the long-term structural changes needed are not clear.

References and Notes

1 See Jim Richstad and Tony Nnaemeka, "Pacific Basin in Global News Flow Context: Selected Cases." Paper for International Association of Mass Communication Research Congress, Warsaw, September 1978; published in Media Asia 5:3, 1978. Jim Richstad, "News Flow in the Pacific Islands: Selected Cases," Communications and Development Review, 2:2 (September 1978). Tony Nnaemka, "Foreign News Flow in Three Island Press Systems: Pre- and Post-Independence Flow Structures," Communications and Development Review, 2:2 (September 1978).

2 Remoteness can be defined in a number of ways. In this paper, it refers to both the distance from the main world communication centers and the lack of linking communication networks, as well as distance and lack of networks between Pacific Islands. Within the Pacific, a country can be considered remote from another country if there is a lack of or weak horizontal communication network.

3 E. Lloyd Sommerlad. The Press in Developing Countries. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1966.

4 George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, "The Many Worlds of the World's Press," Journal of Communication, 27:1 (Winter 1977).

5 Richstad and Nnaemeka, 1978; Richstad, 1978. See Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism." Journal of Peace Research 8:2, 1971, for Galtung development.

6 Richstad, 1978.

7 One Tahiti editor, for example, a year and a half after the week of the content analysis study period, confidentially identified the source for virtually every item that was coded as having an unstated source. (Personal interview with Michael Anglade, May 1978). It is not likely his readers were as confident about the sources for the news.

8 These definitions were taken from Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1977.

9 The Australian Associated Press is the leading source for overseas news for the Australian news media. It is a partner with Reuters, and is linked through COMPAC with the major world news centers. It receives the services of the Associated Press and United Press International, and The Times of London and the New York Times. See "AAP: Bigger, Stronger," Media Asia 4:1/2, 1977, p. 47.

10 For listing of New Zealand Press Association links with Reuters and AP, UPI and AFP and other international sources, see E. W. De Lisle, "Transnational Communication Enterprises and National Communication Policies," paper for Transnational Communication Enterprises and National Communication Policies Seminar, Honolulu, August 1978.

11 Jim Richstad, Michael McMillan, and Ralph D. Barney, The Pacific Islands Press: A Directory. An East-West Center Book. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973.

12 The New China News Agency or Hsinhua is the national news agency of China. The only newspaper in the sample to use the service as a source was the People's Daily, although its reports are sent to about 100 bureaus outside of China and distributed to the media. No weighting was given to account for the differences in newspaper size, circulation, country population or other factors, hence NCNA appears in the data as a more important international source that it is, certainly in respect to newspapers outside of China. For more information on Hsinhua, see Wilbur Schramm, "What the Chinese are Telling Their People About the World: A Week of the New China News Agency." Draft memorandum circulated at Flow of Communication Workshop, Honolulu, May 1978.

13 An important theoretical exploration of the impact of communication on traditional societies in the Pacific Islands has been completed, and demonstrates the varying impact as the society increases contact with the outside or Western world and develops its own sources and non-traditional communications infrastructures. See Lasarusa Vusoniwailala, "Toward a Pacific Island Theory of Communication and Change," M.A. Thesis, Department of Communication, University of Hawaii, 1978. An early observer on the impact of modern communication on traditional societies is Lucian Pye, Communication and Political Development, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, (see Introduction). Also, see Felix M. Keesing and Marie M. Keesing, Elite Communication in Samoa: A Study of Leadership, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956.

14 Ian Johnstone, "Broadcasting in the Pacific," in Daniel Lerner and Jim Richstad (eds.), Communication in the Pacific. Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, 1976.

15 For review of Peacesat system, see John Bystrom, "Peacesat Experiment General Description 1971-76," Educational Broadcasting International, 9:3 (September 1976), pp. 103-07.

16 Jackie Bowen, "Peacesat Regional News Exchange Project, 1974-6," paper for Flow of Communication Workshop, Honolulu, May 1978.

17 Richstad, 1978.

18 Personal interview with John Bystrom, director of Peacesat, January 1979.

19 "Comments to the Federal Communications Commission on Document No. 20271, Eighth Notice of Inquiry Adopted 18 April 1978 in the Matter of Preparation for a General World Administrative Radio Conference of the International Telecommunications Union to Consider Revisions of the International Radio Regulations." Submission from Pan-Pacific Educational and Communication Experiments by Satellite (Peacesat) Project, June 28, 1978.

20 Bowen, 1978.

21 Ovia Toua, personal interview, May 1976.

22 Field research report prepared by Susan Allen, 1978, East-West Communication Institute. Summarized in "Flow of News -- A Pacific Perspective," paper for Flow of Communication Workshop, Honolulu, May 1978.

23 Mort Rosenblum, "Western Wire Services and Third World," Philip C. Horton (ed.), The Third World and Press Freedom. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978.

APPENDIX A
COUNTRY AND NEWSPAPER LIST

1.	American Samoa	Samoa News, News Bulletin
2.	Cook Islands	Cook Islands News
3.	Fiji	Fiji Times, Nai Lalakai
4.	Gilbert Islands	Atoll Pioneer
5.	Guam	Pacific Daily News
6.	Hawaii	Honolulu Advertiser, Honolulu Star-Bulletin
7.	New Caledonia	La France Australe
8.	US-Trust Territories	Marianas Variety, Micronesia Independent
9.	Niue	Tohi Tala Niue
10.	Norfolk Islands	Norfolk Islander
11.	Papua New Guinea	Papua New Guinea Post Courier, Lae Nius
12.	Solomon Islands	Solomon News Drum
13.	Tahiti	La Depeche de Tahiti
14.	Tonga	Tonga Chronicle
15.	Western Samoa	Samoa Times
16.	Australia	Australian
17.	New Zealand	New Zealand Herald
18.	Japan	Asahi Shimbun am
19.	United States	Los Angeles Times
20.	United States	New York Times
21.	Canada	Vancouver Sun
22.	Taiwan	United Daily News
23.	China	People's Daily
24.	South Korea	Dong-A Ilbo
25.	Indonesia	Kompas
26.	Thailand	Siam Rath
27.	India	Times of India

APPENDIX B

DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRY CLASSIFICATION

DEVELOPED	DEVELOPING RIM	DEVELOPING ISLANDS
Australia	Taiwan	American Samoa
New Zealand	China	Cook Islands
Japan	South Korea	Fiji
United States	Indonesia	Gilbert Islands
Canada	Thailand	Guam
	India	New Caledonia
		Trust Territories
		Niue
		Norfolk Islands
		Papua New Guinea
		Solomon Islands
		Tahiti
		Tonga
		Western Samoa